871 other than those stemming from socialism. In practice the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

876 Curricular "reform" was among the first sections undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation of the educational system was administratively impossible) the Communists instituted changes in the curricula wherever their troops had seized control. As early as September 1949, Communist authorities announced the "Temporary Regulations of Curricular Reform in the Departments of the Colleges of Arts and of Law in the Institutions of Higher Learning in North China." The principal features of this "reform: were (1) the substitution of Marxism and Leninism for the Three People's Principles, (2) abolishment of the course on traditional law and, before new laws were promulgated, the addition of studies on socialist theories of jurisprudence. This action was aimed at institutions of higher learning; reform of curricula for lower level schools was not much publicized.

The same subject was the central theme for the All-China Higher Education Conference of June 1-9, 1950. By that time the movement to reform curricula had reached its second stage. Out of this conference emerged the "Decisions Concerning the Enforcement of Curricula-reform

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•876 in the Institutions of Higher Learning." The main point of this directive was that, "Institutions of Higher Learing must... abolish the politically reactionary courses, install revolutionary political courses of New Democracy.... The curriculum of all departments must practise the principle of proper specialization...must install and strengthen necessary and important courses and omit those overlapping and unimportant courses and materials, in accordance with the principle of intensification and simplification."[11]

Following this conference, major changes in college curricula were carried out. Similar measures were also adopted for secondary and primary schools by modifying the courses and altering the subject-contents. In January 1951 the Communist Ministry of Education moved to check on the results of curricular "reform" by holding a "Conference on Inspection of Teaching Plans for the Academic Year 1950 of All Institutions of Higher Learning." Again, similar actions were taken for schools on the lower level. After September 1951, official efforts were mainly devoted to "thought reform" and the inspection of course material and teaching methods to insure that the reform measures were truly carried out in the Communist spirit. These efforts have not lessened in the past five years.

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11. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol. 2, No. 5 September 1950, p. 1,134.

876 Besides changing the materials for courses on political and economic theory, the curricular "reform" also has the mission of dovetailing the schools on different levels and seeing that their doors are open to Party and other professional cadres who have not had the opportunity of a formal education.

One important development closely related to curricular "reform" is the thorough re-examination of all textual materials. The central authorities responsible for education, through their subordinate agencies on provincial and municipal levels, supervised the revision of all textbooks, particularly those in the field of the social sciences before releasing them to the schools. That the revised books are politically slanted is obvious but their technical quality cannot be judged without a detailed comparative study of many such books against the original versions and against similar books accepted as standard works in non-Communist countries. 12

C. Changes in Organization

871 656 Before 1949, as the Communist Army assumed control of a city or a town, a military delegate was assigned to each school to supervise its administration. The changes the Communists brought to the schools at that time were imposed unsystematically and arbitrarily. Even after the establishment of the Peking regime, the measures designed to revise the education system and school organization remained haphazard. Following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the main activity of the Communist Ministry of Edu-

871 the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control as shown in Chart 3 seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and have the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[20] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNISTS IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

876 To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to Sovietize completely the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not start until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to

20. People's Education, December 1954, p. 30.

•876 abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake" and to step down from their professorial pedestals to serve the masses. He exhorted the students to forget about personal profit and to identify their ambitions with the national interest.

This movement spread rapidly. Criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. "Petit bourgeois sentimentalism," "capitalistic romanticism," "feudalistic individualism," and a host of other "undesirable" attitudes were subject to relentless attack. During subsequent months the Communist press was crowded with signed confessions of past ideological errors. This is the mainstay of the Communist program to revamp education, but it is admittedly a most trying task, which required a long-range plan and sustained effort for its achievement.

Although practically every college professor in China has published his self-criticism (some of them have done so several times) and every student has been through at least one "thought struggle" the movement continues unabated. The Ministry of Education in announcing the tasks for 195 again pointed out the need for continued vigilance against the "remnant of feudalistic thought."[21] The State Council in directing secondary schools to improve their courses stressed the importance of strengthening socialist thought.[22] The latest revival of this issue occurred when the philosophy and works of Hu Shih,

21. People's Education, March 1954, p. 22.
22. Ibid., July 1954, p. 16.

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876 Yü P'ing-po, and Hu Feng became the subject of a purge.[23] (See chapter on Artistic and Intellectual Expression.)

B. Labor-education Movement

The labor-education movement is designed to inculcate a respect for labor in the minds of intellectuals and youth, and is not to be confused with "Reform-through-labor" discussed in the chapter on Forced Labor.

Beginning with the kindergarten, the Communists teach students to respect the "fruits of labor" to care for school property and to aid their parents by doing chores at home. Grade school children are taught manual work, partly as physical exercise and partly as a means to cultivate respect for labor. Older students are urged to prepare themselves for work on the farm or in the factory. Such a preparation, the Communists says, is the "most glorious" assignment which can be offered "new China's" youth. Students in advanced schools are reminded of their duty to accept government assignments regardless of the working conditions involved. The main purpose of the labor-education movement is to prepare students for work upon the completion of any level of education.

"Study is the only task worth undertaking, and all other professions are beneath it" is a classic

23. People's Education, May 1955, p. 5.

876 Chinese expression which upholds the high social status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[24]

C. Physical Education Movement

871 744 Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3), the State Council and the two ministries of education have been seriously concerned with the health of the students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." As early as April 195, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of the students. Tung's delcaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued in July 1954 a joint directive reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions on Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[25] However,

24. See Communist official directives on "labor-education" ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.

25. People's Education, August 1954. p. 65.

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B. Ideological Orientation and Its Effect on the People's Attitudes

The ideological orientation of the Communist educational system is seen in the basic policies and the major movements instituted in Chinese education during the past five years. Through "education" the Communist expect to teach the Chinese people to hate "American imperialism" and to respect the Soviet Union as "the leader in the revolutionary bloc of nations." The social sciences taught in schools are oriented on the basis of Russian socialism, "because China must learn from the Russian revolutionary experiences." In technical courses Russian techniques are singled out as "advanced experience." Hostility toward all non-Communist traditions and ideals is stressed. Any person, Chinese or foreign, who is not sympathetic toward Communism is assumed to be either an actual or potential enemy, and is to be treated as such.

There is a lack of subtlety in the Chinese Communists' attempt to reconcile their theory of patriotism with their pro-Russian propaganda line. When they directed the teachers to abandon the use of English except in foreign language classes, they defended their position by saying that Russian would be taught in certain schools in order to expedite the process of translating certain Russian works into Chinese, but that even this practice would be terminated as soon as the goal was attained.[65]

65. People's Education, Feb. 1952, p. 7.

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876 191 Since learning a foreign language is no easy matter, the substitution of Russian for English has been a controversial point and may remain an unresolved issue of the Communist ideological orientation in education.

C. Inadequacies in Communist Education

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Lack of teachers, as has been noted, will continue to hamper the development of education and the improvement of the standards of the school in East China. Lack of educational equipment can only be partially solved by improvisations. In this regard, East China appears to be better off than Central-South or Southwest China. The large-scale construction of school buildings has begun in Hangchow and Shanghai.[66] Lack of financial support for students will cause many to abandon their education, and it is doubtful if government subsidies are sufficient to help many students. Above all, the lack of well-trained administrators will be the greatest obstacle to the Communists' efforts to achieve progress in education.

Despite Communist efforts to run the schools according to a centralized plan, the lack of a clear-cut policy leads to the "piracy" of teachers and students. Government agencies in need of technical personnal often call away teachers or students without notifying school authorities. Although there is no recent information on this practice, the situation was serious enough in 1951 for the Government Ad-

66. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, November 26, 1954, p. 3.

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THERE WAS IN THE larger foreign enterprises a group of young workers who correspond more to the apprentices in western countries. They were generally known as trade apprentices (*i t'u*) and were found in such enterprises as public utilities and dockyards. Their apprenticeship was of fixed length, and regular teaching was available for them during this period. In an attempt to raise the standard of trade apprenticeship generally, the Engineering Society of China in 1940 recommended to the Shanghai Municipal Council the adoption of regulations governing the registration of such apprentices by the authorities. By the early part of 1941 one hundred applications from public utility enterprises had been received. For registration purposes, apprentices must have completed a junior middle school course prior to employment. It was hoped that the issue of a certificate by the Council at the close of the apprenticeship period would induce other enterprises to bring their regulations for apprenticeship into line with the new standards, thus making a contribution to better technical training. By 1942 it was apparent that the certificate was already becoming a desired credential.

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The curriculum in the Technical Schools took account of the fact that students had a considerable practical experience. There was no need to set up laboratory experiments to demonstrate a principle which could well be illustrated by referring to the actual work in the workshop. Lecturers were Chinese engineers who in most cases had had university training, but who also had moved among workers so that they could speak their tongue. It was essential that they be taught in the workshop colloquial as well as the dialect form they understood.

The first-year courses included physics, mathematics,—termed "workshop calculations",—and some technical terminology, through which some engineering principles were enunciated and machine parts taught. The colloquial Chinese workshop term was taught in relation to the correct Chinese engineering term and its English equivalent. In subsequent years, courses in machine shop practice, in strength of materials, in machinery installation and that of power plants were given.

Thus, by the paths indicated—by the path of the primary school, apprenticeship and evening technical schools leading to a graduation certificate, and by junior middle school with appren-